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Moore's influence on European music networks through the Irish Melodies and Lalla Rookh

McCleave, S., & O'Hanlon, T. (2017). *Moore's influence on European music networks through the Irish Melodies and Lalla Rookh*. Paper presented at Music research seminar series, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast, United Kingdom.

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Moore's influence on Europe's music networks through the Irish

Melodies and Lalla Rookh

Introduction - overview of ERIN and its aims (10 mins)

[Triona O'Hanlon]

[Slide] Our presentation today will examine *Thomas Moore's influence on Europe's music networks through the Irish Melodies and Lalla Rookh*, however, I would like to begin by providing you with an overview of our research project and its aims. [Slide] ERIN is the acronym for our research project and it stands for "*Europe's Reception of the Irish Melodies and National Airs: Thomas Moore in Europe*"; so during the course of our research project Sarah and I have been examining the dissemination and reception of Moore's works within a European context. [Slide] Thomas Moore was a prolific individual; he was a nineteenth-century Irish poet and author, a satirist, a researcher and a songwriter. His musical works achieved global success and inspired many arrangements including arrangements by European composers such as Beethoven, Berlioz and Mendelssohn. [Slide] ERIN (our research) focuses on three main aspects of Moore's creative output: *The Irish Melodies* (a ten volume song series published between 1808-1834), the *National Airs* (a 6 volume song series published between

1818-1827) and the songs, operas and ballets inspired by, or based on, Moore's epic oriental poem *Lalla Rookh* (published 1817, the poem is structured around four interwoven tales and includes a number of songs or song texts which are sung by principal characters in the poem).

So what is so special about this particular group of works? Why focus? The dissemination of these works within a European context has never been systematically mapped or examined. Inspired key research questions: for example Which European countries were most receptive to Moore - and why? and What networks existed amongst the publishers and creative artists associated with these works? [Slide] In order to answer these questions we chose to consult the wonderful array of Moore sources extant in 8 European libraries: list and chosen for the significance and uniqueness of their sources for Moore's work. [Slide] The central or platform collection is that which is housed here at Queen's, the Gibson-Massie-Moore Collection, the world's largest collection of Moore sources, containing over 1,000 volumes including literary works and printed music. Limitations for the project include the date range which spans from 1808-1880; this date range encompasses first publications for all works in question, subsequent nineteenth-century re-issues, editions and arrangements of, while also encapsulating the twenty-eight years

following Moore's death. We also decided to limit our research to printed music sources published within this date range (1808-1880).

[Slide] Further aims of our project include the creation of a suite of research resources or research tools which will facilitate a deeper exploration of our key research questions and indeed further research questions. These resources are for use by scholars, researchers, musicians and the general public. The principal resource is a free-to-use, searchable, online database catalogue of British and European editions of the *Irish Melodies*, *National Airs* and songs, operas and ballets inspired by and based on *Lalla Rookh*. All sources catalogued were published during the period 1808-1880 and are now extant in the music collections extant at the eight European repositories selected for our project. [Slide] The database will contain a total of 800 records which can be searched by title, name, role (author, publisher, composer), city and date range. The database will link out to a series of four online exhibitions (2 for the *Irish Melodies* music and poetry, 1 *National Airs*, 1 *Lalla Rookh*), to a series of podcasts for a selection Irish Melodies and to our project blog, which has been available online since January 2016. To complement the online resources Sarah and I are co-editing a collection of essays titled *Thomas Moore and the Global Marketplace*, which will be published in 2018. So that provides you with an overview of our

research project, its aims, resources and outputs. I will now pass you over to Sarah who will discuss the theme of our presentation today, providing you with an overview of Moore's influence on Europe's music networks.

Sarah McCleave: Introduction to the presentation and outlining presentation aims **10 mins** [slide]

Today we want to consider Moore's influence on Europe's music networks through his *Irish Melodies* and *Lalla Rookh*. The former, a 10-volume song series issued between 1808 and 1834, is perhaps the most popular song series ever. [slide – title page vol. 1] It was the brain-child of Dublin-based publisher William Power, who along with his London-based publisher-brother James approached the youthful Moore to create lyrics to a selection of existing 'Irish Melodies'. Once Moore had created the lyrics, these and the tune would be sent to Dublin-based composer Sir John Stevenson to arrange some 'symphonies and accompaniments' for pianoforte. The intended market for this series -- the middle-class homes of Dublin, London, and the outer reaches of Ireland and Britain -- was so enthused by the first volume that Moore (originally intended to shepherd the first volume only to print) became its sole lyricist. He

swiftly became both obsessed and very protective of the series, sending an irregularly-produced stream of lyrics, corrected lyrics, queries and laments to James Power in London. Some of these missives complained about the reluctance of Stevenson to meet with Moore--- the poet (who evidently had final say about the choice of tunes) clearly wanted to supervise the senior composer's contributions!

The networks surrounding the Irish Melodies operated on two levels: the first to operate involved the circulation of Moore's original lyrics by themselves, either in the original English or in translation. The presentation style could vary from cheaply-produced pocket volumes to handsomely-illustrated and finely-bound copies. The Gibson-Massie Moore collection in Special Collections of the McClay library provides the bibliographical evidence of numerous print runs in its original incarnation as well as evidencing the *global* circulation of its lyrics in numerous languages and guises. This phenomenon was enabled when Moore's copyright-holding music publisher James Power granted access to the lyrics to other publishers, including Moore's regular 'text' publisher Longmans of London, as well as his Paris agents, the Galignanis. Although we aren't aware of any European presentations of the music and lyrics together apart from those issued in London and Dublin, a search on WorldCat ([see handout](#)) reveals a rather different situation in America that warrants further investigation. [[discuss](#)].

Regarding the original copyright, a fraternal quarrel led to James Power assuming sole copyright in 1821; upon his death the copyright passed through his widow, to the London-based Robert Addison and his associates, who continued to use the plates from the original series. When William Power produced a pirated edition of the music in the mid-1820s, this rash act resulted in a lawsuit—which he lost. There was nothing, however, restricting the creation of *arrangements* in homage to Moore’s eloquent lyrics and the lovely tunes that inspired them. And so the *Irish Melodies* attracted countless cover versions of individual songs from its inception to the present day, prompting responses from artists as diverse as Hector Berlioz in Moore’s day to Joe Strummer in ours [**slide Strummer album cover**]. While songs or piano arrangements were the most likely formats, we find Moore’s *Irish Melodies* arranged for brass band, free-reed *accordion*, and concertina. I have even endured a rendition of one of the Melodies as a piece of elevator music. This is the musical network inspired by the series, one which we know stretches across the globe and is so diverse that it is nigh-on impossible to attempt comprehensive identification. And so, what will we try to do today? Triona will presently tell you more about the publishing history of this remarkable series in Dublin alone.

Before she does so, allow me to introduce our second subject of interest, Moore’s *Lalla Rookh*. [**slide;**] This is an ‘oriental romance’

currently enjoying its bicentennial, which went into its third edition (with a print run of 3000) within six weeks of the first printing. Like the Irish Melodies, it inspired two kinds of networks, the first seeing Moore's text retaining a regular presence in the global publishing industry – with near immediate translations in French, German, and Swedish – until World War I. The notably diverse *musical* responses to *Lalla Rookh* were facilitated by the poem's content and design. *Lalla Rookh* is the story of the eponymous heroine, a princess from Dehli, and her journey to the kingdom of 'Bucharía' (present-day Uzbekistan) to wed her assigned groom, the prince Aliris. Her retinue is joined by the mysterious poet Feramors. The growing relationship between this pair, and the intensifying consternation of Lalla's temporary guardian, the Vice-Chamberlain Fadladeen, is depicted in prose [slide – illustration of the 3 protagonists]. This story of a budding love relationship – discrete in its own right – tended to inspire comic operas that invented further characters and incidents -- sometimes giving Fadladeen a female comic foil. But this larger story embraced four further stories in Moore's original, for to amuse Lalla, Feramors recounts four poetic tales during their journey. Two of these are darkly tragic. *The Veil'd Prophet* tells of the terrible personal consequences to the young lovers Zelica and Azim of his disappearance and her subsequent embroilment in the cult led by this tale's title figure. *The Fire-worshippers*, set in Zoroastrian Persia,

tells of the terrible personal consequences to the young lovers Hinda and ‘Zal’ effected by the sectarian tensions between their two peoples; she is Arab and he is a Gheber. These serious stories inspired serious operas or substantial cantatas. Yet Moore also craftily includes two further tales of notably different hue. *Paradise and the Peri* feeds into the romantic era’s fascination with the supernatural. The Peri is a Persian angel who has fallen from grace. She is barred entrance to Heaven until she can bring the ‘perfect gift’ to God. Her first quest sees her return to the pearly gates with a drop of blood from a young hero who died fighting a tyrant. (The resonances with the then-current Napoleonic Wars, and with contemporaneous treasuring of ‘freedom’, are obvious.) Not good enough. The Peri then brings back the last sigh of a young woman who dies embracing her plague-stricken lover. The remnant of this quintessentially romantic scenario is again insufficient to yield entry. But when the Peri returns with the tear of a repentant sinner she has found the ‘perfect gift’. This mark of the redemption of a raddled sinner gains the Peri re-entrance into heaven, which she celebrates in exuberant song. This story taps into themes of sufficient weight to warrant setting in the manner of an oratorio by none other than Robert Schumann.

Feramors’s final tale, ‘The Light of the Harem’ features a quarrel between the sultan’s son and his favourite concubine Nurmahal. Thanks to the intervention of the sorcerers Namouna, they are reconciled. An

obligatory ‘Festival of Roses’ ensues. The telling of this tale precedes the ‘knot’ in the story of Feramors and Lalla Rookh, as they have come to the end of her journey; she loves the poet and dreads her marriage to another. But it all ends happily ever after when Feramors reveals himself to be none other than Lalla Rookh’s betrothed in disguise. Each of these five stories: that of Lalla Rookh and her lover; the Veiled Prophet, Paradise and the Peri, and The Light of the Harem, inspires extended works for the theatre or concert hall. We might also wish to note that each of the stories has at least two or three songs within – with lyrics by Moore himself. These were subsequently set by various composers across the European continent. You will hear more about the music of *Lalla Rookh* presently.

[Triona O’Hanlon] Irish Melodies Publisher’s Network: The extent to which Dublin was a hub for the activity and promotion of the Irish Melodies series; spurring interest through publication of later editions, collections and anthologies.

As outlined earlier, a key aspect to our project is the examination and analysis of the network of personnel and various creative artists involved in Moore’s work.

[Slide] In terms of *The Irish Melodies*, Moore was a collaborator, and the creation and publication of this ten volume song series with piano accompaniments was very much a collaborative project. For the *Irish Melodies* Moore's most immediate network included music publishers and brothers James and William Power (1766-1836 and fl. 1797-1831), Anglo-Irish composer John Stevenson (1761-1833) and English composer Henry Rowley Bishop (1786-1855). Moore's relationship with the Powers, Stevenson and Bishop was complicated and is comprehensively documented by Dr Úna Hunt in her contribution to *Thomas Moore and Romantic Inspiration*, editors Caraher and McCleave (pp. 1-34), which will be published later this year. Despite the business and financial problems which arose between James Power and Moore, and also despite the organisational and creative differences experienced by Moore while working with Stevenson and Bishop respectively, the Bard of Erin had much to gain in terms of establishing these particular networks. In collaborating with Stevenson Moore had access to an experienced composer and musician; Stevenson was a vicar-choral at both St Patrick's and Christ Church cathedrals in Dublin, he held memberships in a number of Dublin music clubs and societies and he was an established composer whose works include sacred and secular compositions, choral and instrumental works. A well-known musician within the context of Dublin's nineteenth-century music

scene, Stevenson was Moore's composer/collaborator for the first seven numbers of the *Irish Melodies*. Following a split in the Power publishing firm Moore's collaboration with Stevenson ceased and Henry Rowley Bishop became Moore's composer/collaborator for the final three numbers of the *Irish Melodies* (Numbers 8-10). Bishop was music director of Covent Garden since 1814 and by the time James Power engaged his services for the final instalments of the *Irish Melodies* (1821-1834) Bishop was enjoying popularity in London owing to the success of his operas and theatre music. The presence of Bishop's name on the final three numbers of the *Irish Melodies* had the potential to be used as a lucrative and useful marketing tool, particularly within London. Bishop's potential in this respect must have initially appealed to Moore and must have instilled some confidence for completion of the series, both for Moore and for James Power; Hunt states that 'Bishop's popularity was a decided consideration' for Power when considering Stevenson's successor (p. 16).

As for William and James Power, the brothers' provided Moore with access to the Dublin and London publishing markets respectively. Following a litigation battle between the Power brothers, over publishing rights to the *Irish Melodies*, an eventual split in the firm and the emergence of pirated editions of the Eight

Number published by William, Moore's relationship with the Dublin-based brother declined. However, to what extent was Dublin a hub for the activity and promotion of the *Irish Melodies*? Were other Dublin-based publishers inspired and encouraged by Moore's success and did the Dublin market yield many later nineteenth-century editions, collections or anthologies of the *Irish Melodies*?

Despite the effects of the Act of Union in 1801 and the changes evident in Dublin's social and political landscape, musical activity continued to develop in the city during the course of the nineteenth century. This is largely due to an increase in the activity of amateur music making and the associated demand for vocal music. To give further context to this statement, [slides] during the period 1700-1750 eighteen music clubs and societies were established in Dublin. During the corresponding period one hundred years later (1800-1850) twenty eight music clubs and societies were established in Dublin, and by the end of the nineteenth century this number had grown to 86, the majority of which promoted and performed vocal and choral works. The activities of these clubs and societies contributed to concert life and thus created a demand for printed music as evidenced by the 56 music publishers active in the city over the course of the nineteenth century.

[Slide] As already referred to by Sarah, the copyright for the publication of the *Irish Melodies*, with music and lyrics together, remained with both Power brothers; James the London based brother assuming sole copyright from 1821 until his death in 1836. On the expiry of Power's copyright Dublin publishers Robinson and Bussell, and Duffy issued new collected editions of the *Irish Melodies* edited by Francis Robinson and John William Glover respectively.

[Slide] Francis Robinson (c1799-1872) was a member of the noted Robinson family active in Dublin's musical scene during the nineteenth century. His edited collection of the *Irish Melodies* was first published in two volumes by Robinson and Bussell (fl. c.1843-1852) circa 1850, and later re-issued by Bussell (fl. c.1852-79) alone. Robinson's collected edition contains *Irish Melodies* Numbers 1 to 7 only, including instrumental pieces from these Numbers. It is a faithful edition, remaining close to the original settings by Moore and Stevenson. The melodies and rhythms have not been altered, the edition contains Moore's original footnotes and the original performance and expressive markings are largely maintained. Robinson's reasons for omitting Numbers 8 to 10 from his edition are unclear; by this time all *Irish Melodies* were complete

and published, Power's copyright had expired and the opportunity to publish a complete edition of the *Irish Melodies* appears to have been there for the taking. The following possibilities are worth considering however. The later Numbers of the *Irish Melodies* did not have the same impact as the early Numbers; interest and excitement surrounding the series decreased over time. Robinson may have decided to concentrate on the more popular and successful numbers in a bid to guarantee the success of his edition. Perhaps Robinson avoided publishing Numbers 8-10 due to the controversy between the Power brothers over pirated editions of Number 8 published in Dublin by William following the split in the firm (1821). The more likely reason however may lie closer to home, so to speak. Francis Robinson's father, Francis senior, was a contemporary of John Stevenson. Both Stevenson and Francis senior were well-known within Dublin's musical circles and would have undoubtedly known each other through their respective involvements with Christ Church Cathedral. In this instance it would appear that the Robinson family's likely association with Stevenson may have prompted Francis junior to only publish the *Melodies* which involved the Dublin composer.

[Slide] John William Glover's (1815-1899) edition was first published by James Duffy in 1859 and appears to have been re-issued in 1860, and possibly again in the 1870s and 1880s. Glover was organist at St Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Dublin (1848), founder of the Royal Choral Institute (1851) and professor of music (vocal studies) at the central Model Schools of the National Board of Education. Glover was music director for the commemoration following Moore's death in 1852 and his promotion of Moore and the *Irish Melodies* continued in a series of National Concerts and commemorations held in Dublin over subsequent years. Glover's edition contains *Irish Melodies* Numbers 1 to 7 only, select songs from Number 9 (*And doth not a meeting, By the Feal's wave benighted*) plus instrumental pieces from these numbers. The preface reveals that Glover was approached by Dublin publisher James Duffy (fl. 1845-1860) to undertake the task of preparing (and I quote) 'this new edition of Moore's *Irish Melodies* for the press.' With this 'new edition' Glover attempted to produce a more accessible, user-friendly publication, as outlined in the second paragraph of the preface. I quote from the Preface here: 'In the original edition the music was printed only in connexion with the first or second verses of each melody, the remainder being merely given in letter-press, but in this Edition the words of *all the verses* are accompanied by the music, together with the piano[forte] part *in full*,

an arrangement which, from its great expense, has not been hitherto attempted.’ Glover also reset the instrumental pieces and made minor revisions to *The Last Rose of Summer* (mainly expressive/performance markings) and *Where’s the Slave so Lowly* (chorus dirge/refrain/repeated section).

[Slide] The publication of Robinson’s and Glover’s editions coincides with the growth in nationalism and national identity evident in mid-nineteenth-century Dublin. In the preface to his edition, Glover states that ‘These melodies now form part of our national inheritance - something which Ireland may truly call her own, and which shall always be looked upon as one of the most interesting and happy efforts of genius ever bequeathed to any country.’ The networks surrounding publication of these editions represent various aspects of musical life in nineteenth-century Dublin and different social strata. For example Robinson and his family were very much involved in musical activities at Dublin’s two Anglican Cathedrals, St Patrick’s and Christ Church, and were members of a number of Dublin’s private music clubs and societies including the Hibernian Catch Club, Philharmonic Society and the Sons of Handel. His publisher Henry Bussell was also a member of the Philharmonic society. Membership of these clubs was exclusively confined to the

upper classes, or the amateur aristocratic musician. Glover's network was that of a lower-middle class Catholic who strove to make music more accessible to Dublin's working class. However, Robinson's and Glover's networks were by no means mutually exclusive, this is evidenced by the involvement of Glover and Francis Robinson's younger brother Joseph in Moore's commemorative concert in 1879.

I will now pass you back to Sarah who will discuss the network of composer's inspired by Moore's *Lalla Rookh*.

[Sarah McCleave] The Lalla Rookh Network: [slide] composers inspired by Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, musical re-workings of LR

The dissemination of *Lalla Rookh* relied on a number of networks, from publishers to musicians to patrons – using this last word in the broad context of a general public of readers, listeners, and purchasers. It would be the tastes and activities of these 'patrons' that shaped the destiny of Moore's poem in all its formats. Most profoundly, changes in society through the Victorian era had a noted effect on the musical 'reception' of *Lalla Rookh*. I will return to this point.

From its initial publication until about 1840, the primary musical response to *Lalla Rookh* was in the form of individual songs, normally

sold as sheet music. The popularity of this particular format reflected the domestic market of the time. [see **handout**]. The handout reveals some 23 separate lyrics from Moore's poem which were set by composers based in London, Dublin, and America during Moore's lifetime and into the later Victorian period. The majority of such publications were issued between 1817 and 1826. What networks were in operation here?

At the core is Moore's music publisher James Power. We can see that he had a monopoly on the London publications. Of the composers identified, the Dublin-based Stevenson was Moore's regular musical collaborator until 1821, when the Power brothers' dispute led to the London-based Henry Bishop becoming the 'go to' collaborator on Moore projects. But already in 1817 Bishop was setting texts to *Lalla Rookh*. We also see the names of several contemporaries, such as George Kiallmark, Thomas Attwood, and John Clarke-Whitfield, all active professional musicians who included songwriting in part of a busy professional portfolio of activities. Moore's tremendously popular poem would have been an attractive association for them. Moore's correspondence gives no clues as to how any or all of these men became involved in setting these pieces, but it is possible to speculate that some were approached by Moore or his publisher while others did the approaching. We know from a similar project that Power might consult Moore about the titles for

songs associated with his poetry, and we know from the voluminous correspondence between Power and Moore about the Irish Melodies that the composer expected to be involved in all aspects of production. There's definitely scope for further research here. For me, an intriguing lead is the 1815 watermark on a copy of the 'Spirit's Song' by John Clarke, based for a time at Armagh cathedral. We know Moore's Lalla Rookh was meant to come out in December 1815, and so it would seem that Clarke was involved in creating a very early 'complementary' publication. Yet we know nothing of how this came about.

From the 1840s, industrialisation and bureaucratisation lead to an expanding institutionalisation of music (Rodmell). As societies, clubs, and large professional and amateur ensembles became more numerous, they took a proportionally larger role in the dissemination and performance of music. This creates a change of emphasis in the formats Moore's poem inspired, with a move to cantatas and large-scale oratorios, performed in new public concert spaces. Music societies might produce their own series of concerts, or participate in larger events such as the 'Three choirs' festival. As Paul Rodmell explains, (p. 9) this institutionalisation offered musicians an "escape" from the patronage system, opening up a wider network of supporters to them.

Moore, as we know, was a very ‘clubbable’ person, and publisher James Power paid his fees to join selected London clubs so Moore could perform the Irish Melodies as a promotional act. We don’t know if Moore performed the songs from Lalla Rookh, but others may have done so. Another ‘clubbable’ person was Moore fan Robert Schumann, whose most famous association -- *Der Davidsbündler* – as Daverio tells us, “brought together a cast of characters and a constellation of ideas about the nature of writing on art that had occupied Schumannn for some time.”

Schumann, 4 slides

Bernhard Appel (JSTOR) identifies other cultural institutions or social groups from Schumann’s time: the Berliner Tunnel; Weber’s Harmonischen Verein; also the Tunnel über der Pleiße Leipzig. Daverio (p. 114) tells us that the membership of such groups included “both musicians and literati”; the performance of literary and musical entertainments were a regular part of an evening’s proceedings for such societies. Aesthetic opinions were developed and refined within such groups as well.

Leipzig was also the centre for Schumann’s *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*; many members of the Leipzig ‘Tunnel’ wrote for this journal. Eduard Sobolewski was its Königsberg-based correspondent. In one

source he is even described as a member of Schumann's faithful Davidsbundler. Certainly the club and the journal shared personnel in a very direct type of network transfer. Sobolewski, if you recall from an earlier slide, wrote an opera on Moore's third tale from *Lalla Rookh*, the *Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*. Although New Grove describes this as Sobolewski's "greatest success", it is not known to have toured elsewhere. The impetus for its composition is not known: did Sobolewski pick up an interest in Moore from Schumann? At present I can only offer this as a speculation.

An established network stemming from Leipzig involved the numerous British musicians who were trained at its Conservatory. This institution was founded by Mendelssohn and Schumann in the 1840s. One of their colleagues, the composer and theorist Moritz Hauptmann, lived long enough to train British musicians who turned to Moore for inspiration in the Victorian era. One of these, Frederic Clay, had a cantata, *Lalla Rookh*, performed at Brighton in 1877. "I'll sing thee songs of Araby", which caused a notable stir at its premiere, went on to become a popular ballad. Several early 20th-century recordings, including one by the great John McCormack, are available through YouTube. Matthew will be performing this tomorrow. Clay's formative years saw the publication of various illustrated versions of Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, by artists such as Daniel Maclise and John Tenniel; these helped

to prolong the appetite for Moore's poem, and created a ready audience for experiencing it as a piece of music.

Hauptmann, let me be clear, enters our story as a signal for how small and inter-connected the Victorian musical world could be, not as any kind of direct 'cause' for the dissemination of music inspired by Moore's poetry. But we could note that in addition to Clay, Hauptmann trained John Francis Barnett, whose 1870 cantata the Paradise and the Peri, saw some success in the network of British music societies.

[**handout** P&P – talk].

One final sphere to consider is the theatrical. Moore's poem inspired works ranging from court festivals to comic or serious operas to Christmas pantomimes. [see **slides**]

Little Lalla Rookh: the Grand Christmas Pantomime

The British Library has a copy of John F. McArdle's adaptation of Moore's Lalla Rookh as a Victorian era Christmas pantomime. This work was first staged at the Alexandra Palace Theatre, South Kensington, in December 1883 (and repeated at the Bijou Opera House, Liverpool, 1889). The original production team included one Loveday as composer or arranger of the music. In McArdle's pantomime, the stories of Lalla Rookh and Hinda are intermeshed, with the latter becoming the principal lady-in-waiting to the Mogul princess. As in Moore's poem,

Hinda is beloved by the Gheber Hafed, but he is assigned the role of a pantomime Infernal, along with a new character 'Khoransabad the Terrible', who vies with the 'poet' Feramors/King of Bucharria for Lalla 's hand. Indeed, Lalla's hand is sought by no fewer than 15 princes and potentates, whose desires are marked in an extended pageant that allows plenty of opportunity to introduce exotic characters (Amazons, Mandarins, and 'Ashantee Wives') accompanying the hopeful suitors (the King of Cashmere, the Chinese Emperor, and King Koffee). Lalla Rookh, already totally smitten with the poet Feramors, swiftly rejects them — including Khoransabad, who attempts to woo her with a song to the tune of "Lovely Sally Brook". She does, however, accept the suit of the unseen King of Bucharria, on the recommendation of the lovelorn Peri Namoune (here two of Moore's characters are combined as his Namouna was a sorceress in 'The Light of the Harem'; his Peri was nameless). Namoune has been denied her place in Heaven for daring to love a mortal (Feramors) and can only gain re-entry by effecting the union of her beloved with Lalla Rookh. Lalla's father the emperor Aurungzebe gives his grudging approval for the match, then sings solo during the Grand Chorus of Moore's "Let Erin Remember". The other Peris appear from time to time *en masse* to sing choruses and perform ballets. The attendant Ghebers, as infernal characters perform an 'Impish Ballet', while Hafed and Khoransabad provide a "Grand

Revenge Duet”. The Incantation which follows will be familiar : “Double, double, toil and trouble, Fire burn and cauldron bubble” (here described as ‘The Conspirators’ Chorus’). Fadladeen manages to embroil himself in a pitched battle with the impish Ghebers, which Namoune quells by *rais[ing] a burning brand and wav[ing] it over them*”. In the end, the deserving men (Feramors and Hafed) get their girls, while the ‘baddie’ Khoransabad has to content himself by singing the ‘New Tip-top topical song’ while riding a donkey.

Conclusion: Apart from the pantomimes (more of which in Monday’s seminar), none of these theatre pieces, with the exception of Félicien David’s *Lalla Roukh* (see article on David in Wikipedia, which points to an academic reference for these performances) appears to have travelled. Concert pieces were the main travellers. Moore’s Lalla Rookh travelled far, and the nature of her journey changed as the Victorian era advanced.



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Moore's Influence on Europe's music networks through the *Irish Melodies* and *Lalla Rookh*

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The Lalla Rookh Music Network

European composers inspired by Lalla Rookh

Lalla Rookh Musical 'Events' in the nineteenth century: European publication of songs and theatre productions

	1817-19	1821-29	1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99
London	20	6	2	2	1	2	4	1	3
Dublin	1			1				1	
Berlin	2								
Leipzig				1	1	1	1	2	
Dresden				1		1			
K'lingrad					1				
Paris						1	1		
Liverpool							1	1	
Vienna							1		
Brighton							1		
Bir'ham							1		
Hanover								1	

Anglo-Irish Songs

- See handout.

Moore's poem as a concert or theatre piece

- Charles Horn's operetta *Lalla Rookh*, Dublin, 1818
- Tableaux vivants @ Berlin court theatre, 1821
- Gaspare Spontini's grand opera, *Nourmahal* @ Berlin, 1822
- Robert Schumann's oratorio/ 'Dichtung' *Das Paradies und die Peri* @ Leipzig, 1843
- Félicien David's opéra comique, *Lalla Roukh* @ Paris, 1862
- Anton Rubenstein's grand opera, *Feramors* @ Dresden, 1863; rev. Vienna, 1872
- The three cantatas: Barnett (Birmingham, 1870); Clay (Brighton, 1877), Bantock (London, 1892)
- C V Stanford's grand opera, *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan* (Hanover, 1881; rev. London, 1893)
- Pantomimes and lighter fare: Dublin, 1843; London, 1883; Liverpool, 1889 etc.
- Google maps demonstration

1818, Dublin: Charles Horn's *Lalla Rookh*

- The first stage work inspired by *Lalla Rookh* opened at the Theatre Royal, Dublin on 10 June 1818. This was M.J. Sullivan's adaptation of Moore's text as *Lalla Rookh; or the Cashmerian Minstrel*, as set by the popular singer-composer Charles Edward Horn.
- Horn set at least a dozen theatrical works performed in London, including Moore's comic opera, *The MP; or, The Bluestocking* in 1811.
- In the role of the poet Feramors for his opera *Lalla Rookh*, Horn would have treated his audience to his "veiled" or "husky" voice, which, combine with his "good manners and gentleman-like address" (*New York Mirror*), would have conveyed a certain appeal to the par

Horn's *Lalla Rookh* Reception

- *Freeman's Journal* of 11 June 1818 proclaimed two or three of the airs "beautiful", and described the "plaudits ... on every side" when Moore was observed *in situ* on opening night, with a further "three distinct rounds of applause" two nights later, when Moore sat in the manager's box.
- The publication of the score is a further marker of expectations for the work; the title-page records its dedication to that most illustrious of society patronesses, Lady Morgan:
- "The Overture, Songs, & Duets, / In the Operetta of / LALLA ROOKH, / Performed with unbounded applause / AT THE / Theatre Royal, Dublin. / FOUNDED ON T. MOORE, ESQ.'S celebrated Poem; / The Words by M. J. Sullivan, Esqr. / The Music Composed, and Dedicated to / Lady Morgan, / By Charles Edward Horn. / Dublin, / Printed for the Author, by I. Willis, 7. Westmoreland Street"
- Yet there is no firm record of Horn's opera entering the repertory on a long term basis, and T. Walsh (*Opera in Dublin 1798-1820*, p. 192) insists it did not "become a favourite".

1821-22 Berlin

- Gaspare Spontini, a music director for Berlin court of Wilhelm Friedrich III, wrote a *tableaux vivant* on Lalla Rookh for the Berlin court to perform in 1821 [NB: various members of the British royal family also participated]. Spontini also composed the opera *Nurmahal* [Light of the Harem] in 1822 to celebrate a royal wedding.

1820s-'30s: Moore's *Lalla Rookh* in Russia

- According to Gabriella Imposti, Moore's fame in Russia peaked in the 1820s and '30s due to translations of his *Lalla Rookh* and the *Irish Melodies*.
- The Royal family in Russia was closely implicated in the performance of Spontini's *tableau vivants* on the poem at the Berlin court in 1821 (celebrating a Prussian-Russian alliance through marriage), with Tsar Nicholas playing the part of Feramors-Aliris, and his bride Aleksandra Fiordorovna, *Lalla Rookh*.
- The Russian poet, Vasilii Zhukovskii, was in attendance, copied some lines from Moore's poem into his diary and later wrote a free translation, 'The Peri and the Angel'. Some of Moore's *Irish Melodies* and *National Airs* would be arranged (espec. for piano) by Russian composers.

1843, Leipzig: Robert Schumann

- In August 1841 Schumann wrote in the diary he shared with Clara, “Tom Moore’s *Paradise and the Peri* has just been making me very happy – something good in the way of music might be made of it” (Litzmann, p. 328).
- Schumann’s diaries indicate he was thinking of projects that could stem from each part of Moore’s poem (Daverio).
- Schumann presumably came across *Lalla Rookh* through the German language translation published in Leipzig in 1839 by Bernhard Tauchnitz junior. This was reissued in 1842 and 1843.
- Also, an English-language text for *Lalla Rookh* was published with Moore’s song lyrics by Baudry’s European Library in Paris and Leipzig, 1841.

Das Paradies und die Peri

- Adapting a translation by his friend Emil Flechsig, Schumann begins sketching for this score early in 1842 (Litzmann, p. 331)
- In June 1843 he records that this composition and teaching the 40 pupils in the Leipzig Conservatoire occupied “all my time during the last quarter”. The autograph records the dates of composition as “Feb. 20th-June 16th 1843” (Litzmann, p. 349).
- Clara’s reaction on hearing Part 1 in March 1843: “It seems to me the most magnificent thing that he has yet written. He is flinging himself into it body and soul, with a fervor which sometimes makes me anxious ...” (Litzmann, p. 350).
- On hearing Part 3 in May, Clara exclaimed: “The music is as heavenly as the text: what a wealth of feeling and poetry there is in it!” (Litzmann, p. 350). Clara was to arrange it for piano.
- Premiered 4th December 1843 in Leipzig, with Livia Frege as the Peri. Repeated 11th Dec.
- First performance Dresden 23rd December 1843. This performance was the occasion of Schumann’s reconciliation with his father-in-law, Friedrich Wieck.

Schumann's *Peri* in Berlin

- Litzmann (pp. 423-37) recounts the difficulties encountered over the 17 January 184X performance at the Berlin Singakademie, then under the “conservative” direction of Rungenhagen and Grell. Some of the professional singers had to be cajoled into taking their parts; one of the substitutes proved incapable and Schumann nearly withdrew from the performance. A positive aspect was the “unexpected” ability of the (mixed gender) Singakademie’s orchestra, partly comprised of amateurs from the Philharmonic Society.
- Clara’s diary records a fraught and fragmentary rehearsal process.
- Clara’s diary also records an attentive audience; defensive of Schumann’s (unenergetic) conducting; difficulties in performance; positive press coverage.

1844-56: Schumann's *Peri* in England

- In 1844, Mendelssohn wrote Mr Buxton, the proprietor of publishing firm Ewer & Co. to promote the idea of publishing his friend's score, which M. praises for its "expression and poetic feeling"; the "effective" choruses and the "winning and melodious" solo parts (reproduced in Grove 716).
- The English premiere, on 23 June 1856, was given by the Philharmonic Society, by the Command of Queen Victoria, who attended with Prince Albert. Sterndale Bennett conducted, and Jenny Lind performed as principal soprano. The words were adapted by William Bartholomew (E., p. 786).

1854: Schumann's *Peri* in Ireland

- Irish premiere on 10 Feb. 1854 in the Antient Concert Rooms. Great Brunswick Street, Dublin, by the Royal Choral Institute, conducted by John William Glover (repeated 8 March 1854).
- *Freeman's Journal* (no date supplied) claimed the music had been re-adapted to Moore's original poem for this performance (E., p. 786).

Schumann's *Peri* elsewhere

- On 31 Dec. 1847 Clara records that the American Musical Institute in New York was preparing a performance of her husband's *Peri* (Litzmann, p. 440).
- Feb. 1850: tableau from the *Peri* were presented to the Schumanns in a Leipzig performance arranged by Friedrich Brockhaus.
- Translated by Victor Wilder as an opera libretto, *Le Paradis et la Péri*. To Schumann's music, this was performed in Paris, at the Théâtre impérial italien, on 6 décembre 1869.
- Das Paradies und die Peri : Dichtung aus Lalla Rook von Th. Moore : Concert des Musik-Vereins, am 5. April 1856, im Apollo-Saale (held by library at Universität Rostock, Germany)
- Schumann's oratorio inspired a piece of Italian fiction, *Il paradiso e la peri* (Roma, 1883).

1846, London: a ballet *Lalla Rookh, or the Rose of Lahore*

- A new 'Grand Oriental Ballet'. Music by Cesare Pugni and choreography by Jules Perrot. London's Her Majesty's Theatre 18 June 1846.
- An early puff for the work anticipated a "treat" in the "new and magnificent ballet", requiring the full set of skills of the scene painter and machinist as well as the dancers themselves. (*John Bull*, 6 June 1846 in *British Newspapers 1600-1900*)
- Some of the music came from Félicien David's "The Desert". The cast included Fanny Cerrito in the title role, Arthur Saint-Léon as Feramors, and choreographer Jules Perrot as Fadladeen. (*John Bull*, 13 June 1846 in *British Newspapers 1600-1900*)
- A contemporary review suggested it contained 'too much' dance' [i.e. not enough pantomime] for British tastes, and relied too heavily perhaps on spectacle (*John Bull*, 15 June 1846).

1850, Königsberg: *The Prophet [The Seer] of Khorassan*

- *Der Prophet [Der Seher] von Khorassan*, an opera staged at the Stadt theatre in Königsberg, East Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia) “early” in 1850, is regarded as the “greatest success, receiv[ing] widespread publicity” of its composer, the Polish-American Eduard Sobolewski (1808-72) (Burke and Laudon.)
- Sobolewski, who studied with Carl Maria von Weber, was correspondent, under the pseudonym J. Feski, of Robert Schumann’s *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* during his time in Bremen (1854-59).

1862, Paris: Félicien David's *Lalla Roukh*

- Félicien David (1810-76), who studied at the Paris Conservatoire, spent some two years in the Orient (particularly Egypt) as part of a small community of the social movement, the Saint-Simonians.
- David found musical stimulus from this period, most notably in his *ode-symphonie Le désert* (1844). He continued to set music to oriental titles, of which this piece and *Lalla Roukh* appear to have been the most successful.
- Between its premiere on 12 May 1862 and 1867, Félicien David's comic opera *Lalla Rookh* enjoyed 154 performances (*Universel-Mode*, 18 juillet 1891, in 'Gallica'.) Hector Berlioz was among its admirers. David received the Legion d'Honneur in the year of its premiere, and a prize of 20,000 francs in 1867 (Macdonald).

1870, Birmingham: John F. Barnett's choral cantata, *Paradise and the Peri*

- * premiered Birmingham Triennial Musical Festival, 1870
- The festival itself was founded, to foster civic music making and support charitable causes, in 1768 (Lunn 615). Main music event in a city that lacked regular concerts until the 20th century.
- Contemporary reviewer credited Barnett with an “appropriate setting of the words” (Lunn 615); suggested the “beautiful” contralto air “One hope is thine”, in “capturing the spirit of the poetry ... deserves to become popular” (Lunn 616); commends the final chorus as a “brilliant climax” as well as for its “very clever instrumentation”.
- The cantata was revived at Crystal Palace in spring 1871; see the *Musical Times* for evidence of further revivals across Britain

1877, London: Frederic Clay's cantata, *Lalla Rookh*

- Premiered at the 1877 Brighton Festival (“Clay’s *Lalla Rookh*” 118)
- The anonymous reviewer commends the librettist W.G. Wills, for “entering thoroughly into ... [the] spirit” of Moore’s poem, while creating a text “instinct with the warmth of eastern passion”, where a “high-pitched emotion is everywhere sustained” and “a strong infusion of ‘local colour’” suggested (ibid. 118).
- Clay is evaluated as possessing “a happy knack of expressing, with a directness ... many profounder writers might envy, the pervading sentiment of the text.” (ibid. 118).

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McCleave, S., & O'Hanlon, T. (2017). Moore's influence on European music networks through the Irish Melodies and Lalla Rookh. Paper presented at Music research seminar series, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast, United Kingdom.

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Lalla Rookh, Selected Concert Repertory
Compiled by Sarah McCleave, Queen's University Belfast for project ERIN

Date	Title	Venue	Comment
1843/12/04	Das Paradies und die Peri	Leipzig	Premiere of the oratorio, words by Emil Flechsig, music by Robert Schumann
1843/12/23	Das Paradies und die Peri	Dresden	Oratorio, words by Emil Flechsig, music by Robert Schumann
1850/02/XX	Das Paradies und die Peri	Leipzig	Tableau from the Flechsig-Schumann work, arranged by Friedrich Brockhaus
1854/	[Paradise and the Peri]	Dublin, Great Brunswick Street	Schumann oratorio, with Thomas Moore's words in English, performed by the Royal Choral Institute conducted by John William Glover
1856/06/23	Das Paradies und die Peri	London, Philharmonic Society	English premiere of Schumann's piece, with Jenny Lind as principal soprano and William Sterndale Bennett conducting ¹
1857/10/10	The Fireworshippers	Royal Irish Institution, Moore Testimonial	A "grand descriptive cantata" by Ferdinand Glover ²
1870	Paradise and the Peri		Cantata, music by John Francis Barrett
1877	Lalla Rookh	Brighton	Cantata, music by Frederic Clay
1877/12/17	Paradise and the Peri	Dublin Musical Society	Schumann's oratorio planned for next season. ³

¹ *Musical Times* (London)

² *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin)

³ *Freeman's Journal* (Dublin)



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Songs inspired by Lalla Rookh, 1817-1880

Source: WorldCAT <https://www.worldcat.org/>

American publications

Year	Place of publication	Song title	Composer
		1810s	
1815WM	London	Spirit's Song	Dr John Clarke-Whitfield
1816?	London	Now morn is blushing	Sir John Stevenson
1817	Philadelphia: G.E. Blake	Come hither, come hither	R Taylor
1817	London	Namouna's Song	Clarke- Whitfield
1817	London	Fly to the desert	John Fane, Earl of Westmorland
1817	London	Feast of Roses	Henry R Bishop
1817	London	Paradise and the Peri [recit and air]	William Hawes
1817	London	Song of the Georgian Maid	Bishop
1817/8	Philadelphia: Blake	Spirit's Song	Clarke
1817	London	Fly to the Desert/Hinda's Appeal	George Kiallmark
1817	London	"Oh! Let me only breathe the air"	John Clifton
1817-20	Philadelphia: Blake	"'Twas his own voice"	Stevenson
1817	London	Peri's Song ("Farewell to thee" / "Oh fair as the sea-flower	Thomas Welsh
1817	London	The Arabian Maid's Song	Bishop
1817	London	Song of the Fire-Worshipper	Attwood
1817	New York	The bower of roses	J. Wilson
1818	London	The cold wave my love lies under	Attwood
1818	London	Her hands were clasp'd	Attwood
1818	London	The Peri pardoned	Clarke-Whitfield
1818	London	The Acacia bower	Attwood
1818-20	Philadelphia: Blake	Oh! Fair as the sea-flower	Welsh
1819	London	We part forever part tonight!	J McDonald Harris
		1820s	
1820?	New York: E Riley	Farewell to thee, <u>Araby's</u> daughter	Kiallmark
1820?	Boston: James L. Hewitt	Araby's daughter	Kiallmark
1820	London	Spirit of bliss	Fane
1820	New York: E.S. Mesier	Araby's daughter	Kiallmark. <i>Lithograph.</i>
1820	Boston: G. Graupner	There's a bower of roses	R.W. Wyatt; S. Wetherbee
1820?	London:Phipps&Holloway	Oh! Never say that I, love	T.B. Phipps (adapts words)
1821-6	Boston: E.W. Jackson	The cold wave my love lies under	Attwood

1821-6	Boston: Jackson	The Peri's Song	Welsh
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	Song of the Fireworshipper	Attwood
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	Oh! Let me only breathe the air	Clifton
Year	Place of publication	Song title	Composer
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	Now morn is blushing	Stevenson
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	We part forever part tonight!	Harris
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	Bendermeer's Stream	Hawes
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	The acacia bower	Attwood
1821-6	New York: Firth & Hall	Feast of roses	Bishop
1821-6	Boston: Jackson	'Twas his own voice	Stevenson
1822-3	Boston: Jackson	Hinda's appeal/Fly to the Desert	Kiallmark
1822-9	Baltimore: George Willig	Hinda's appeal/Fly to the Desert	Kiallmark
1824	Philadelphia: Klemm	Araby's daughter	J.G. Klemm
1826-9	Boston: James L. Hewitt	Araby's daughter	Kiallmark
		1830s	
1830	London	We part forever part tonight	Harris
1832-4	New York: Firth & Hall	Araby's daughter	Kiallmark
1838	London	Araby's daughter	Kiallmark
1838	London	Peri pardoned	Clarke-Whitfield
1817-41	Philadelphia: Blake	Tell me not of joys above	Taylor
		1840s	
1841	London	Oh! ever thus from childhood's hour	Emile Souper
		1860s	I.
1860?	Dublin: Henry Bussell	Zeba's dream of home	II. Smith
1860?	London	Oh! Ever thus from childhood's hour	John Calvert
1864	London: Charles Jeffreys	The gazelle song	G. Verini
1865	London	There's a bower of roses	Edward Bunnett
1866?	London: Chappell	O, ma maîtresse	Félicien David
1869	London: Olivier	Fly to the desert	Evelyn Heathcote
		1870s	
1870	London: Lambourn Cock	Oh! let me only breathe the air	Charles Salaman
1877	London	I'll sing thee songs of Araby	Frederic Clay
		1880s	
1880	Boston	I'll sing thee songs of Araby	Clay
18--?	New York	I'll sing thee songs of Araby	Clay

Statistics individual songs: **8)** Araby's Daughter; **5):** Fly to the Desert; **4)** Bendermeer's stream; **3):** Oh! Let me only breathe the air; We part forever; I'll sing thee songs of Araby **2):** Spirit's Song; Now morn is blushing; Feast of Roses; 'Twas his own voice; Song of the Fireworshipper; The cold wave my love lies under; Peri Pardoned; The Acacia Bower **1):** Come hither, Come hither; Namouna's Song; Song of the Georgian Maid; Arabian Maid's Song; Her hands were clasp'd; Oh, never say that I, love; Peri's song; Tell me not of joys above; Oh, ever thus from childhood's hour; Zeba's dream of home; The gazelle song; O,

ma maîtresse. **NB:** songs of the same title and with the same publisher that are assigned dates of fewer than three years' difference were not counted as separate items.

Compiled by Sarah McCleave, 21 May 2017.



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Lalla Rookh, Theatre works
Compiled by Sarah McCleave, Queen's University Belfast for project ERIN
May 2017

Date/Place	Title	Comment	Source
1818/06/10 Dublin Theatre Royal	Lalla Rookh, or the Cashmerian Minstrel	Opera with words by M.J. Sullivan and music by Charles Edward Horn	Dublin <i>Public Record, or Freeman's Journal</i>
1821/01/27 Berlin castle	Lalla Rûkh	Tableaux vivants, text by S.H. Spiker, music by Gaspare Spontini	Grove music online
1822/05/27 Berlin, Royal opera house	Nurmahal, oder Das Rosenfest von Kaschmir	Grand opera, text by C. A. Herklots, music by Gaspare Spontini	Grove music online
1843/03/10 Dublin	Lalla Rookh, or, The Ambassador of Love, and Gheber Fire Worshippers	"Grand Equestrian Spectacle" from troupe with Mr Widdcomb as the Riding Master.	Dublin <i>Freeman's Journal</i>
1846/06/11 London, Her Majesty's	Lalla Rookh, or The Rose of Lahore	Ballet, music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by Jules Perrot	Grove music online
1850, "early" Königsberg, Stadt Theatre	Der Prophet [Der Seher] von Khorassan	Opera, with music by Eduoard Sobolewski	Grove music online
1857/12/24 London, Royal Lyceum Theatre	Lalla Rookh, and the Peri, the Princess, and the Troubador; or, Harlequin and the Ghebers of the Desert	Pantomime with text by W. Brough	London <i>Morning Post</i>

1858/10/04 Dublin, Queen's Royal Theatre	Lalla Rookh, Khoreanbad	"Burlesque ... Grand Divertissement	Dublin <i>Freeman's Journal</i>
1862/05/12 Paris, Opéra comique	Lalla Roukh	Opéra comique, text by Michel Carré and Hippolyte Lucas, music by Félicien David	
1862/10/20 Liège	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David	
1862/10/29 Antwerp	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David	
1862/12/25 Coburg	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in German translation	
1862/12/26 Mainz	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in German translation	
1863/02/24 Dresden, Hopfoper	Feramors	Grand opera, music by Anton Rubenstein	
1863/01/31 Budapest	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in Hungarian translation	
1863/03/16 Munich	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in German translation	
1863/04/22 Vienna	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in German translation	
1864/01/19 Geneva	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David	
1864/10/18 Cassel	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David	Dublin <i>Freeman's Journal</i>
1865/08/07	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in	

Berlin, Meysels- Theater		German translation	
1866/03/08 Warsaw	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in Polish translation	
1869/12/06 Paris, Théâtre impérial italien	Le Paradis et la Péri	French translation by Victor Wilder of the Flechsig- Schumann oratorio, presented as an opera.	
1870/01/12 Stockholm	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in Swedish translation	
1870/02/17 Calcutta, Lewis's Theatre	Lalla Rookh	Pantomime "reported to be a success." No further details.	Dublin <i>Freeman's Journal</i>
1870/09/07 Milan, Teatro Rè	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David in Italian translation	
1872 Vienna	Feramors	Grand opera, music by Anton Rubenstein	
1874/05/09 Dublin, Antient Concert Rooms	Hafed	Readings from the late Ferdinand Glover's opera for Moore's birth-night concert	Dublin <i>Freeman's Journal</i>
1876/xx/xx Paris	Lalla Roukh	Revival: Carré, Lucas, David	
1877/02/11 Brompton,	Lalla Rookh	Pantomime with Agnes Darling as Feramorz	London <i>The Era</i>

Exchange Theatre			
1879/12/27 Dublin, Queen's Theatre	Bo Peep; or Harlequin Prince Golden Bell	Character Hafed the King of Fire, played by Mrs Esmond who danced and sang a "merveille".	Dublin <i>Freeman's Journal</i>